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out on a hunting expedition, accompanied by the men of the settlement who are related to the bride by blood or marriage. The object of this expedition is to prove the young man's fitness as a meat provider for his future family. During the early part of the day's hunt his companions place every possible hindrance in the way of his obtaining a bag, such as making noise when a quarry has been sighted, or rocking the canoe as the hunter takes aim while on the river. This is a very hilarious occasion for the other participants and a very embarrassing one for the groom, who will be rejected if he returns empty handed. If the groom is at all acceptable to the bride's relatives, however, they usually arrange that, after a day of tribulations, he will get some sort of bag to bring home. During his residence in the settlement they have had ample opportunity to form an opinion concerning him. The hunting expedition is apparently merely a formality, as it is a rare groom who does not know fairly well whether or not he has passed the examination of his future in-laws long before the time for the final test arrives.

Upon the return of the hunting party, an offering of drink is made to the spirit of the house, a spree takes place, and the young couple settle down to married life. They usually live in the girl's settlement until the birth of the first child. Later they may move elsewhere.

A man taking a second wife, either as a widower or as the master of a polygamous household, merely requests her from her father, giving the older man some small present or services in exchange. The house-building, field-cutting, and hunting tests are not considered necessary in the case of a man who has previously been married, since he has already given evidence of his fitness.

It is apparent that marriage, coincidental with matrilocal residence, entails the acceptance of the groom by the group to which the bride belongs, which we shall call the extended family. Marriage thus involves a sort of contract between a man and his wife's group, but does not involve a contractual relationship between his own relatives and those of the bride.

After marriage a certain reserve exists between son-in-law and father-in-law. A man never gives his father-in-law direct orders or suggestions, but always speaks to his wife about the matter in hand, and she transmits her husband's ideas to the older man. On

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586 the latter uses the article in question he or she is overcome with
582 desire for the other.

587 A widow always marries her husband's brother or some member of his kin. If she does not, she risks the accusation that she killed her husband for the love of another man. A widower frequently, but not necessarily, marries his wife's sister.

592 The family is therefore composed of a man and his one or more
597 wives and their unmarried children. Each family has its own house and seldom shares a house with adult individuals other than the spouses and their unmarried children. No case was recorded of an adult male (with the exception of young suitors) occupying a house jointly with another adult male. If several adult women are living in the house they are always found to be wives or concubines of the man of the household. Children of deceased rela-
[582] tives are, however, often adopted. Practically every individual in the community over the age of about twenty is married or has
[736] definite plans to be married. Universal matri[illegible]thus obviates dependency occasioned by old age as well as loneliness. Children of one or the other of the spouses by previous marriages may be included in the family group. If both parents of young children die, they are usually adopted by the maternal grandparents. The family, composed of spouses and their own and adopted children, is thus coterminous with the household.

595 A man may take additional wives if he can persuade their fathers that he can care for them. There seems to be little objection on the part of the brothers or kinsmen of the first wife, if she is not mistreated. Aside from the type of polygamy in which the several wives live in the same household, several cases were recorded of men who were maintaining two households, each in a separate settlement.

Within the household there exists no formal distinction between
(556) children of polygamous or subsequent marriages, and a child's position in the family depends largely upon its personality and age. The same is true of wives in polygamous families.

594 Three means of entrance to the family group are possible: birth, adoption, and marriage. A man is born into a household, and lives there until he is ready to marry, whereupon he establishes a household of his own. The position one occupies in the household group, therefore, depends upon whether the group in question

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614 wide distribution in the world, the dual organization a narrow
601 one, so that the general explanation of the type on the basis of
171 the dual organization is not applicable" unless one assumes the later diffusion of this type of nomenclature or a former wider distribution of the dual organization, evidence for which is lacking.

601 The actual kinship usages among the Barama Caribs at the
587 present time support the view that, in the absence of sib organization, the terminology is closely connected with the customs of the levirate and the sororate. As has been mentioned elsewhere in this monograph, polygamous marriages are frequently sororal. Likewise, a widow usually marries a brother of her deceased husband. If these customs are not followed invariably at the present time, they nevertheless seem to be survivals of more stringent rules of former times. Informants state that sororate and levirate were invariable among the "old-time people." Unfortunately, while in the area itself, I did not have this problem well enough in mind to make a thorough census of marriages for the purpose of determining the actual incidence of the levirate and sororate in the total number of unions. However, practically all informants stated levirate and sororate rules in their descriptions of the choice of mates which are taken after the first marriage, indicating that this seems to be the conscious pattern, regardless of the actual behavior. In the twelve cases of polygynous marriages with the circumstances of which I was familiar, each of eight men had married his wife's sister. Of seven widows who had remarried, all had married brothers or parallel cousins (terminologically the same) of the deceased husbands.

601 Now the distinction between cross and parallel cousins and
582 the prohibition of marriage with the latter, which is one of the fundamental principles of the Barama Carib system, as can be seen from the equivalences of affinal relatives (Section B, Analysis of the Relationship System), is an obvious necessity in a society in which both the levirate and sororate are actively functioning. The implications are obvious.[1] In many cases marriage with a child of the father's brother or mother's sister in such a society would mean marriage with an actual half-brother or half-sister.

[1] Cf. Lowie, 1919, *Family and Sib*; Lowie, 1920, *Primitive Society*, Chap. 8; Sapir, 1916, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, pp. 327–337. Somewhat same viewpoints are expressed in Kroeber, 1909, *Classificatory Systems of Relationship*, pp. 77–84; Radcliff-Brown, 1930, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes*, p. 427 ff.

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601 614 in the terminology concerning the lineal affiliations of the grandparent's generation and of the grand-children's generation. As explained above, the separation of the maternal and paternal lines in the three "middle" generations is a natural reflection of the incest tabus which arise in a society in which the levirate and sororate are actively functioning. Under such conditions terminological distinctions are functionally necessary in the three middle generations, but are merely superfluous in the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations. On the other hand, if the system were based on a sib organization, a host of economic, religious, and social factors would demand a recognition of the linear affiliations of the members of the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations, if these generations were recognized at all. Such a lack of interest in the linear affiliations of the second ascending and second descending generations, as displayed in the Barama Carib system, is wholly foreign to the systems of the majority of sib organizations of which we know.

601 587 We may summarize the facts favoring the contention that the Barama Carib kinship terminology, which distinguishes the maternal and paternal lines only in the three "middle" generations, is connected with the levirate and sororate rather than with a sib or dual organization. 1. The levirate and sororate are still actively functioning, while there is no evidence of a present or former sib grouping. 2. Indifference is displayed in the terminology concerning the linear affiliations of the members of the grandparents' and of the grandchildren's generations. 3. Cross cousins are equated with all marriageable persons, whether demonstrably related by blood or not, a usage inconsistent with a strict dual organization.

603 591 The failure to distinguish sex of grandchildren reflects the break-up of the family which occurs as a result of extralocal marriage. Informants displayed great difficulty in remembering their grandchildren, because, as they said, their children move away after marriage and they lose track of their grandchildren. It will be remembered that marriage is matrilocal only until the birth of the first child. Birth and rearing of grandchildren usually takes place in a settlement removed from that of the grandparents. The average old man or woman will have difficulty in telling how

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582 marriage frees a man from having to work for his spouse. . . .
604 The relatives of a woman acquire through her marriage not only
171 a servant in the person of her man, but also in her daughter a woman for whom one does not need to serve (because of her father's prior obligations to the family of his wife). The taking of this daughter makes a man free of a part of his obligation." Another explanation for the usage is reported from the Tupinamba (Coastal Tupi) on the authority of Soares de Souza, according to Kirchhoff. Here a man marries his widowed sister's daughter as a means of providing for the widow, and thus bringing him and her under the same roof. Of the two motives here mentioned which might have given rise to marriage with sister's daughter, the first appears to be applicable to the Barama Caribs in preference to the second, which is not compatible with the usage of the levirate.

601 One term in the Barama system I am unable to explain and believe that it must be regarded as an error. This is the term wa'ako which a woman applies to her older brother, the same term being applied by both men and women to older sister.

171 In concluding our remarks on the Barama Carib system as
614 such, we may point out that its general principles have been found
587 to be characteristic of the other Carib groups in South America. According to Kirchhoff's survey of the social organizations of northeastern South America, the Caribs are characterized by the following usages: (1) Absence of sibs or dual organization; (2) distinction, based on levirate and sororate, in the three middle generations between maternal and paternal lines; (3) impermanent matrilocal marriage.[1] The Arawak groups, on the other hand, seem to be characterized by matrilocal marriage and an organization of matrilineal unlocalized sibs, which among the Lokono at least are organized into exogamic moieties. The Uitoto and Bora have patrilocal marriage and patrilinear localized sibs.

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602 In the light of usages involved in the kinship system we see
612 that a Barama Carib recognizes one group of his relatives, the "parallel" relatives, more definitely than other relatives. The latter are terminologically undistinguished from other persons.

[1] Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*. This author has examined the literary sources dealing with the following Carib groups: Tamanak, Macusi, Taulingpang (Arekuna), Yekuana, Ginau, Aparai, Rukuyenne (Oyaba), Galibi, Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, and Cumanagoto. Among the Aparai marriage is said to be patrilocal.

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Families and Households. We have already seen the distribution of the inhabitants among the several houses of the settlement, the location of the houses themselves in relation to each other, and the blood groupings within the settlement. I shall now describe briefly the organization of the settlement by families. 621

At the time this study was made there were eleven married groups living in the settlement. Although no elaborate marriage ceremony is practised, there is no doubt in the minds of the natives as to which persons are mated. The general pattern for marriage is described in the section on the Sociology of the Caribs, so I shall not repeat it here.

Miller, the headman, is at present married to Elizabeth, the daughter of David. Also living in his house are Charlotte, Elizabeth's sister, and Mary, the sister of Miller's deceased first wife. Elizabeth is young and buxom, handsome by Carib standards, and perhaps twenty-two years old. She has as yet given birth to no children by Miller, and this is the first formal marriage relationship into which she has entered. She is the only one of the three women whom Miller calls "puitu," wife. It is upon Elizabeth that Miller showers his most ostentatious affection; he boasts about her; when he goes on trips, for instance to Towakaima portering a load for me, he takes Elizabeth as his travelling companion in preference to his other two women. To her go the best of his earnings and trinkets; for example, of the presents which I made him from my stock of trade goods, the best cloth and the best beads were given by him to Elizabeth. And Miller desires children by the comely Elizabeth. During one month, for instance, he took occasion to draw my attention repeatedly to the protuberance of the Elizabethan abdomen, a condition which appeared to my unconcerned eye to be merely another example of the general "potbelliedness" almost universally observable in both sexes, but which Miller delighted in considering as evidence of pregnancy. Great was his eventual disappointment in discovering that his wife was again menstruating at the regular period. Miller and Elizabeth have been living together for about a year. 595

Old Mary and Charlotte also live in Miller's house. Mary is a middle aged woman, apparently beyond the child bearing age. She is the widow of a man formerly living at Haiari settlement. 587 595

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595 Her husband died and she came to live with her sister, Miller's
587 wife, who was then alive. It seems that her former husband was a classificatory brother of Miller, so that her appearance in the Miller household may be ascribed either to the levirate or to blood ties which led her to make her home with her closest female relative. According to other members of the settlement, she lived sexually with Miller while his first wife was still alive, but that phase has now passed. At the present time she is a rather pathetic old woman who wears an unconsciously humorous expression of utter futility and hopelessness on her features, an expression which apparently has some foundation in her circumstances of life. For now she is a sort of maiden aunt in Miller's household. Having no living children of her own, she is entrusted with the care of Miller's small children, is relied upon for much of the heavy labor in the field and about the house, and assumes much of the responsibility for the management of the household. And of the luxuries of life she gets the smallest share. Miller speaks of her as of an obligation, but one has the distinct impression that he realizes the practical value of old Mary, who relieves the more attractive Elizabeth of some of the disfiguring labor which would otherwise fall on her shoulders.

595 Charlotte has only recently been taken into Miller's household.
582 She is a young girl, not more than fifteen or sixteen, who has only recently accomplished the physical change into womanhood. In fact she is the only young marriageable woman in the settlement. Columbus, a young man of perhaps twenty-two, is forced to take as wife the little girl Susan, who has not yet reached puberty, although Charlotte would be just the mate for him were it not for Miller's selfishness. Now the exact status of Charlotte in Miller's household was in the process of change at the time of my residence in the settlement. Miller steadfastly refused to admit that she was a "puitu" (wife), but merely said in an evasive manner that he "was keeping her" because her sister Elizabeth could look after her in Miller's house better than David (Charlotte's father) could in his house, since the latter had married another woman following the death of
622 Charlotte's mother. But the fact remains that Miller, acting on
595 the multiple authority resulting from his position as headman of the settlement, head of his own household, and the strongest

175 to provide personnel for universal marriage and the wider circle of
601 cooperating kin. The practice of the levirate and sororate as well
[587] as sororal polygyny (Gillin 1936:92) are consistent with this kinship system in which the identities of members of the nuclear family are merged with specific collateral kin. For both male and female egos, father and father's brother are identical and distinguished from mother's brother. Mother and mother's sister are identical and father's sister is a separate category. For the male ego, parallel cousins are identical with siblings and distinguished from cross cousins. For the female ego, this pattern pertains except for the designation of maternal parallel cousins. These individuals are categorized as the female ego's own children and reflect a provision
175 for marriage with mother's brother. However, most commonly, symmet-
582 rical cross-cousin marriage was practiced. In the geneaologies Gillin recorded, one third of the marriages were of this type (1936: 93). He recorded only two marriages with sister's daughter (1936:95).

With this one exception, the only fictive erosion of generational levels concerns the categorization of marriageable partners. For males, these people are in his generation and the one below his. They include his female cross cousins and sisters-in-law as well as the daughters of his male cross cousins and his sisters' and parallel female cousins' daughters. With the practice of cross-cousin marriage, a particular female may fall into more than one of these relationships. Also, all strangers of the opposite sex and generally of the same age are included. For females, marriageable categories occur in all three middle generations. These are mother's brothers, male

merged as one category. With the economic isolation of households, these people are no longer living and working together. The replacement of individuals in these categories no longer appears to be a compelling demand of the organization for subsistence. Mortality has been greatly reduced by medical programs and external subsistence resources. Divorce now tends to occur only as a casual event among very young couples. Consequently, no current data on the practice of the levirate and the sororate is available. Sororal polygyny does occur. Among the established marriages among the Air Strip population, there are thirty-eight monogamous unions. Of the sixteen plural marriages consisting of a man and two wives, twelve are cases of sororal polygyny. There are two groups of a man and three wives. In one case, two of the wives are sisters. In such families, the children tend to continue to call their mother's sister "mother."

The replacement of broad generational bonds with more circumscribed trans-generational bonds is evident in the separate designation of the individuals in the first ascending generation. It is also apparent in ego's generation. For the male ego, mother's sister's son, whether or not he is a half sibling, is placed among the three middle generations depending on his age relative to ego. If this person is older, even a year or so, he is designated mother's brother.[9] If he is about the same age or a little younger, he is called little brother. An individual in this relationship who is a year or more younger is called nephew. The kinship categories for independent and dependent partners in the relationship between ego and mother's sister's son are provided. Previously, associational ties existed